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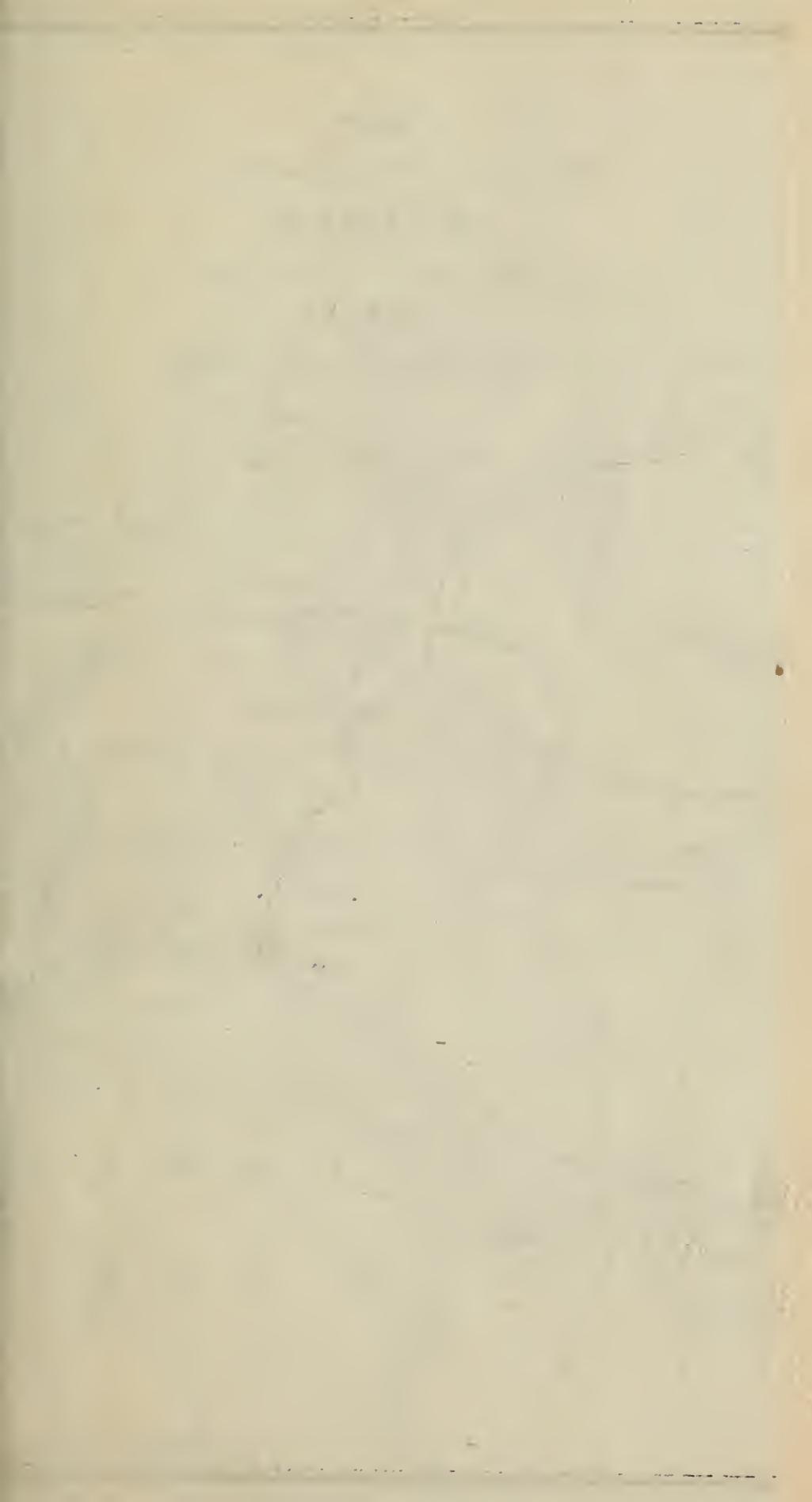
Foreign policy and commerce

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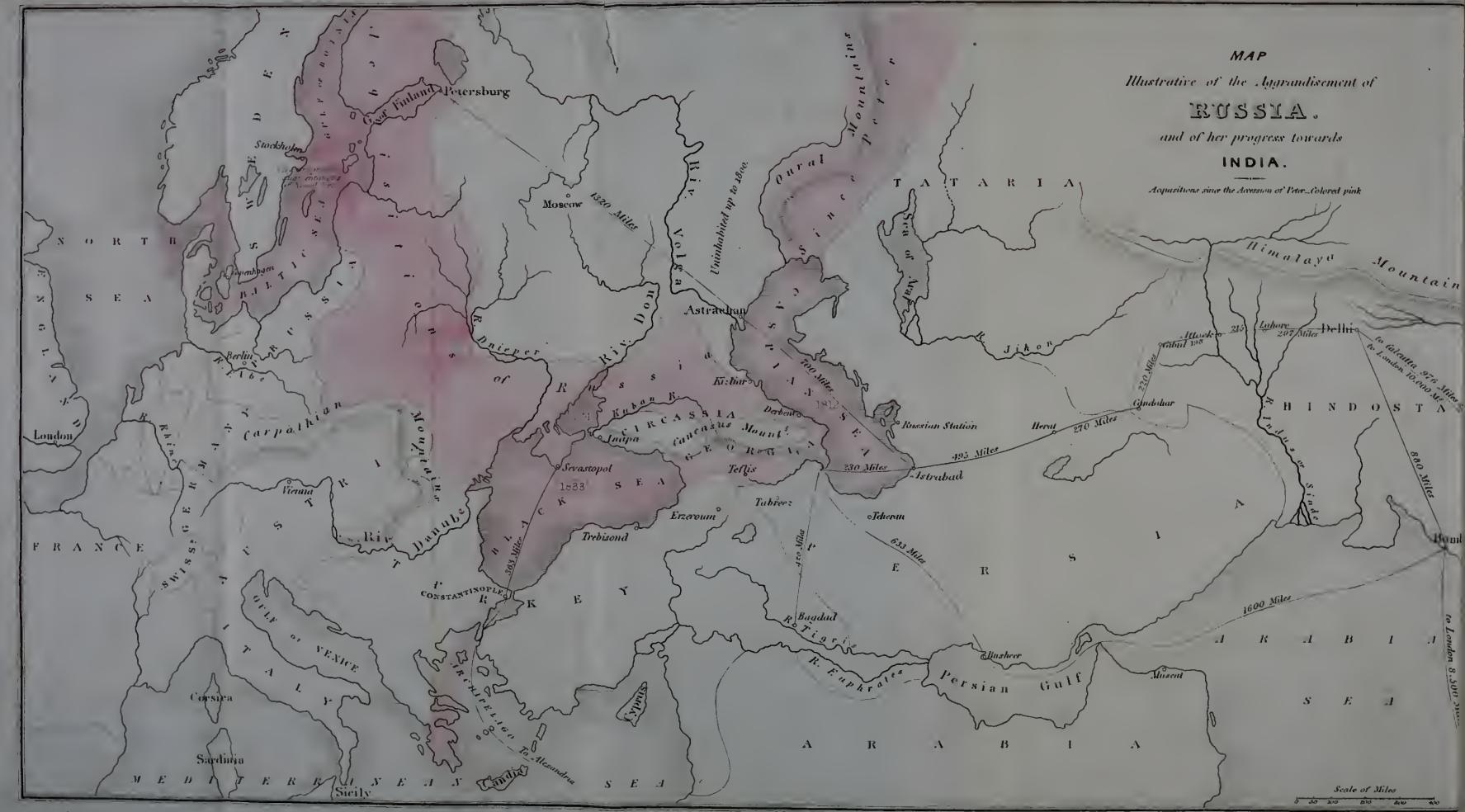
Illustrative of the Aggrandisement of

R U S S I A .

and of her progress towards

I N D I A .

Acquisitions since the accession of Peter. Colored pink



FOREIGN POLICY AND COMMERCE.
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S P E E C H E S

DELIVERED AT

A DINNER GIVEN BY THE COMMERCIAL
COMMUNITY OF GLASGOW

TO

DAVID URQUHART, Esq.,

ON THE 23D OF MAY, 1838.

WITH A MAP.

“ It appears to us impossible that even before the close of the Session these opinions should not find an echo in Parliament.”—ALGEMEINE ZEITUNG, 19th June.

LONDON :
H. HOOPER, 13, PALL MALL EAST.

1838.

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AT a meeting of the Committee of Management for
the public Dinner given by the mercantile community of Glasgow
to DAVID URQUHART, Esq., it was

RESOLVED, that the committee, deeply impressed with the justness and importance of the views put forth at that dinner, and feeling a growing alarm at the threatening aspect of our foreign relations as regards our trade, desire to give publicity to the proceedings on the occasion of the entertainment, with a view of awakening the attention of the other commercial communities, and of the country at large, to these national and all important subjects.

Glasgow, 23d June 1838.

MAP ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE AGGRANDIS- MENT OF RUSSIA, AND OF HER PROGRESS TOWARDS INDIA.

RUSSIA threatens the capital of Sweden ; she has occupied and fortified the capital of Poland—she has brought her frontier 850 miles nearer to Berlin, Vienna, and Paris ; she has approached 450 miles nearer to Constantinople, and extended 1,000 miles towards India. She has obtained exclusive command of the Caspian—has assumed, *unopposed*, similar control over the Euxine. Formidable armaments give her the sovereignty of the Baltic, while the maritime power and influence thence accruing subvert the naval preponderance of England. She has led France to co-operate with her in the subversion of the Ottoman empire. She has stepped forward to combine with the United States in their projects of extension by violating the integrity of the republic of Mexico. The basis of an alliance, grounded upon common principles of aggression, has been laid between her and the maritime power the next to England in Europe ; and with the maritime power that preponderates in the western hemisphere. While, therefore, a quarter of Europe has been incorporated with her dominions,—the diplomatic power of the remaining states is rendered subservient to her future growth : while India is menaced, and Persia subdued, by the expectation of eastern plunder,—an immense maritime force has been formed in the south, within 60 hours' sail of Constantinople ; and another prepared in the north, within a week's sail of London.

While these gigantic means of attack and this extensive organization are prepared against England, a complete ascendancy is secured by Russia in the councils of England herself, and our diplomacy and influence rendered null, except in furtherance of the projects of our enemy ! To such a state of degradation has England fallen —that the Emperor of Muscovy consigns to the foreign minister of England, and to the press in the service of

the Government, the care of establishing by falsehood his claims to territory which he is debarred by treaties with England from occupying, and of asserting the fact of occupation where his generals have been unsuccessful.

Russia's acquisitions from Sweden exceed the remainder of that kingdom. Her acquisitions from Poland exceed Austria. Her positions on the Caspian are nearer Lahore than St. Petersburg. Her acquisitions in *Europe* since the accession of Peter are equal in extent, greater in population, and exceed many times in importance the Russian empire before that period. Her acquisitions since 1772 from Sweden, Poland, Turkey, and Persia, are equal to the remainder of Europe, exclusive of England and Spain.

In the accompanying map the Euxine, the Caspian, and the Baltic, are coloured as Russian acquisitions, but her maritime aggrandizement in the Black Sea and the Baltic, acts on the Mediterranean and the ocean, and, therefore, on all the states of Europe, Asia, and America. In addition to acquisitions ostensibly made, Egypt, Greece, and Persia, are scarcely less at her disposal than her own territory. All this has been obtained, and is now possessed by the support of England. It is the union of England and Russia that takes strength from the former and gives it to the latter.

At a Meeting of Merchants, held this day in the Star Hotel,

WILLIAM GRAHAM, Esq., in the Chair,

The following Resolutions were moved and unanimously carried :—

1st. That in accordance with the Address presented to Mr. Urquhart, signed by 330 of the merchants, manufacturers, bankers, and others of this city, that gentleman be invited to a Public Dinner on Wednesday next, the 23d day of May.

2d. That a deputation of the following merchants be now appointed to wait on Mr. Urquhart, with the invitation ; and to receive his answer :—

William Graham, Esq., of the Lancefield Spinning Company, and Messrs. William Graham and Co.

John Pollok, Esq., of Messrs. Pollok, Gilmour, and Co.

Walter Buchanan, Esq., of Messrs. Buchanan, Hamilton, and Co.

Alex. Johnston, Esq., of Messrs. Johnston, Galbraith, and Co., and Messrs. Alex. Johnston and Co.

James Campbell, Esq., of Messrs. J. and W. Campbell and Co.

William Hussey, Esq., of Messrs. William Hussey and Sons.

John Pattison, Esq., of Messrs. J. and G. Pattison and Co.

Elias Gibb, Esq.

The deputation having returned with the acceptance of Mr. Urquhart, it was

Resolved :—3d. That the toasts and proceedings of this dinner be purely and entirely of a mercantile nature, not admitting of any party or local politics, in accordance with the wish expressed by Mr. Urquhart through the deputation.

4th. That considering the delicate state of Mr. Urquhart's health, it is of material consequence to confine the number as nearly as possible to those parties only who signed the Address, and who may wish to be present.

5th. That the following gentlemen, in the mean time, be named as stewards, with power to add to their number, and to choose a chairman to preside at the dinner:—

Messrs. Walter Buchanan,
James Bogle,
William Bogle,
Frederick A. Bell,
Charles Campbell, banker,
James Campbell,
Hugh Cogan,
William Connall,
William Dunn,
Robert Dalgleish,
John Fleming,
William Graham,
William Gray,
Elias Gibb,
John George Hamilton,
Henry Houldsworth,
William Hussey,
Alexander Johnston,
John Pattison,
Alexander Wardrop.

DINNER TO DAVID URQUHART, Esq.

[From the "Glasgow Courier" (Conservative) of May 24th, 27th, and "the Argus" (Radical) of May 28th.]

ON Wednesday, May 23d, a public dinner was given, in the Tontine Hotel, to this gentleman. Great anxiety having been previously expressed to hear Mr. Urquhart, who was known to have devoted his life to the study of the commercial and manufacturing interests of this country, the large hall of the hotel was filled by the hour of dinner with as numerous, influential, and highly respectable a company of merchants, manufacturers, and bankers, as ever were congregated together on any previous festive occasion in Glasgow. The Lord Provost was in the chair. Mr. Urquhart occupied that on his lordship's right hand, and Mr. Sheriff Alison the left. Mr. Smith, of Jordanhill, croupier.

After the removal of the cloth, the **LORD PROVOST** gave "The Queen," which was drunk with gallant enthusiasm.

The next toast, said his Lordship, is "The British Constitution," a constitution which is the pride and glory of this country, and the envy of the whole world.

"The Army and Navy."

The **LORD PROVOST** said, the next toast was one to which he felt he could not do anything like adequate justice. It was, "The health of their distinguished guest, Mr. Urquhart." (Great cheering.) He was aware that the mere mention of his name would call forth such a response as a matter of justice to a man who employed all his energies, and devoted the high talents he was acknowledged to possess for the best interest and benefit of his country. (Renewed cheers.) Without further remark, he begged to propose, with all the honours, the health of their guest. (Immense cheering.)

Mr. **URQUHART** rose, and was received with great cheering. After returning thanks, and remarking upon the extraordinary character of the meeting—of men composed of all parties—he entered into an inquiry into the ac-

tion of Europe upon Asia, and of Asia upon Europe, and the necessary comprehension of both to a knowledge of each. He remarked upon the double position of England in regard to Europe and Asia, and afterwards went into the progress of his knowledge of the east, as thereby coming to a key to the position of England in the world. He then went on—My object in publishing “Turkey and its Resources,” to which work you have referred in the invitation to Glasgow with which you honoured me, was to dispel the prejudices and errors respecting the administration of that country, perceiving as I did that upon these prejudices was founded a system of diplomacy, or, through them, that there was imbibed a feeling of hostility on the part of the agents and representatives of Great Britain, by which, in the end, the independence and existence of Turkey must be sacrificed—and through which the kind disposition of that people towards us was repelled, and the commercial resources of the state annihilated. At that time I only perceived that England, through ignorance of the resources and character of this particular state, lost the advantages that might be derived from it, while she compromised the existence of a country in which I commenced to feel an interest. But from the moment I came to perceive this truth, I could not resist the general conclusion that England did not understand her own interests, and that her diplomatic intelligence was not equal either to the high position which she occupied among mankind, or to the conduct of those material interests for which that system was established. I therefore felt that her ignorance of Turkey came materially to influence the posture of Great Britain amongst the nations—and that a knowledge of Turkey, and through it of the east, might, in a similar degree, influence the position of any other power which, by the adoption of the necessary means for arriving at such knowledge, came to the acquisition of it. This consideration led immediately to an estimate of the power and resources of Russia, and to her influence both on the east and the other portions of Europe, considered relatively with the power and the interests of Great Britain.—Through Turkey I thus came to a knowledge of the position of hostility in which Russia and England stood to each other, which was based on the knowledge of the first power and the ignorance of the second. (Hear, hear.) It was impossible not to per-

ceive in this examination that the control which Russia had acquired over Turkey secured to the former an undue influence, which prejudiced every state and power in the west, no less than England; and that the ultimate end of the aim of Russia—the acquisition of Turkey—was necessarily subversive of the balance of power in Europe, and dangerous alike to the commerce and influence of Austria, France, and England. (Cheers.) These considerations were the basis of an attempt, not unsanctioned by the administration of the day, to awaken the courts of Europe to a sense of their common danger, and to lead to a combination by which Turkey would be supported, and thereby the colossal projects of Russia arrested. At that period, Austria, alarmed by the encroachments of Russia, was not only anxious to arrest, but was armed to oppose her—and France allied with England was ready to co-operate with us in saving Turkey, and restoring confidence to Europe. But England, untrue to her first resolves, suffered the moment of action to flit by; and France, estranged from her policy of conservation, and led into views of national aggrandisement and of foreign conquest, has planted her standard in Africa, in violation alike of the rights of the Porte, and of her obligations to England, and is thereby constituted the enemy of Turkey—and the enemy of England. She thereby becomes the ally of Russia herself, and, after occupying the Turkish provinces, and excluding English commerce from their shores, she has menaced the Turkish fleet, and threatened the Dardanelles. Poland has fallen, and will in a short time be united in spirit to that Sclavonic unity into which she has practically been incorporated. Austria's remonstrances and her armed intervention have alike failed in arousing the lethargy of England, or in arresting the progress of Russia—and she now stands nerveless to oppose, and powerless to resist, that incorporation of Turkey, which renders her not only subservient to St. Petersburgh, but binds her to a forced alliance, by which her 300,000 bayonets must be rallied in defence of Russia's position in the Dardanelles—if France, the only power then capable of doing so, should attempt the emancipation of Turkey. Within a few years a fearful change has been operated in the balance of power in Europe. Four years ago Turkey claimed the support of England—Austria supported the

prayer—and France stood ready to applaud and confirm her decision. The strength of Europe was therefore at her disposal, and the sceptre of the universe was within her just and intelligent grasp. Now, alas! it has passed away from her hands—the benevolent project has faded from her sight—and in its stead there are only prospects of collision, or visions of decay. Now, our great neighbour and ally, no longer interested in the defence of Turkey, is a sharer with Russia in her spoils; and England, whatever still may be her power and resources, is guided by the hands that have cast down so large a position—which have converted friends and allies into foes, and which are actually rendering at once her resources, and influence, and dishonour subservient to the triumph of her antagonist. (Hear, hear.) Many of my hearers may not be aware of the grounds upon which the preservation of Turkey is so essential to England; they may not comprehend the motives through which Mr. Pitt was prepared to go to war to prevent the incorporation of a single village of Turkey in the dominions of Russia; and the convictions expressed in the memorable passage, “with the man who does not comprehend the importance of the integrity of Turkey to the prosperity of Great Britain, I will not argue.” It seems, however, difficult to comprehend how any man, endowed with the faculties of reason, stands in need of information on a point so palpable and so important. In a maritime point of view Turkey is in importance next to Great Britain—the sea commands and bisects its capital—three seas are under its control—two continents within its keeping—from north to south it holds within its grasp half the commerce of Europe—forests of oak mantle its shores—the noblest rivers of Europe, Asia, and Africa, flow through its territory—and tens of thousands of seamen live beneath its sway. In a political view its independence maintains the maritime equilibrium throughout the world. Its independence upholds the fabric of peace in Europe and the British dominion in Asia. In a commercial point of view its products and its imports are unrestricted by any dogma of internal prosperity, or any principle of taxation, and if it does not supply the hundredth part of the raw materials which its teeming soil may produce, it is only because England sacrifices the interests of her friends and the prosperity of her commerce

on the altar of anti-national sycophancy. It is to the facilities at all times afforded to British commerce by Turkey that we owe the introduction of British goods when the continent of Europe was banded against us. It was by our commercial connexion with Turkey, despite the haughty contempt of British statesmen for commerce, that we overthrew the political power of Buonaparte, and saved Britain from perdition. It is through commercial connexion with Turkey that alone, at this moment, we possess freedom of commercial intercourse with any point of Europe. It is by the strengthening of such ties alone that we can arrest the progress of a more threatening power than France, and a more grasping foe than Napoleon. (Cheers.) But what need I enumerate the value and importance of an ally threatened with subjugation—what need I recall the dogma of more than one statesman of England, that the dismemberment of that ally must lead to the dismemberment of Great Britain—or the conviction of statesmen of other lands that projects for the dismemberment of that ally are based on the conviction that the power of England can be overthrown. Who dares to propound the dogma that France should occupy Geneva, or that Prussia should take possession of Brussels? Who would have the hardihood to contemplate the possession of Madrid by France? or Vienna by Prussia? Why, therefore, should we for a moment admit—for an instant contemplate—the occupation of Constantinople by Russia? (Great cheering.) Such an event must call down on Europe the long-suspended cloud of war—and ambiguity and doubt upon a point so vital annihilate the value of peace—annihilate peace itself in the prospect of collision. (Hear.) I call upon you, then, as members of a European community; I call upon you as Englishmen, and as rulers of India, to put an end to this state of things, and to cease, by your pusillanimity and your ignorance, by your doubts or your indifference—to disgust your friends, and the friends of peace—to cease to invite Russia to occupy a position to which you will not be able to submit, and from which she will no longer be able to recede. We thus stand in a position of open and avowed hostility with a great European power, the intelligence of whose statesmen has passed into a proverb, and we must naturally come to inquire by what means

short of war she can injure us—weaken our connexion with our allies—and place the other powers of Europe in a state of opposition to us. Prussia has been, since the Congress of Vienna, essentially bound to her by gratitude and interest. France received her first impulse after the peace from a servant and friend of the emperor's, placed at the head of her diplomacy, and has recently been brought into union of intentions, and even to concert of action, by acts of international injustice and hostility against the Ottoman Porte. In the change of positions of these two powers towards England may be read the means by which the influence of Great Britain may be diminished, and its prosperity overthrown. (Hear.) Whatever state seeks to maintain its independence is the natural ally of England, and whatever state seeks to encroach upon the independence of others is the ally of Russia. The power that entertains aggressive views can no longer oppose the aggressions of Russia—can no longer combine with England for the maintenance of peace. (Cheers.) But England exists through her commerce: from it does she derive her resources and her wealth, by it are the ties of amity connected with other states—and the sources of information opened to her with other lands. To restrict, therefore, commerce between state and state—to sever the commercial ties between England and other lands, are the principal means by which her influence can be overthrown and her power emasculated. Such has been the policy of Russia; and I fear I must say, fortunately, ere it is too late,—the alarming diminution of our commerce has awakened general attention and created deep anxiety, and has led you, under the impression of the alarm which has been the result, to turn your eyes on one whom you have known to have directed his attention to subjects of a diplomatic and political character for an explanation of the causes of our commercial decline, and for a discovery of the remedy, if a remedy can still be found, for a state of things which promises, at no remote period, to exclude our influence and our commerce from the continent of Europe. You refer, in your invitation to me, to the diminution of foreign and internal trade—to the exclusion of our commerce from countries open, from time immemorial, to British industry; and, while I take these propositions for my text, I must claim, with a patient hearing, your earnest attention. (Cheers.) Until

a few weeks ago, any one who spoke of danger to the commercial prosperity of Great Britain would have been treated as a dreamer and a visionary. We abounded in self-congratulation—in inflexible convictions of the unlimited extent and the infallible increase of our manufactures, our traffic, and our wealth; and, while the diplomatist and the statesman disdained to inquire into the humble labours of patient industry, the merchant and the manufacturer equally disdained the consideration of political circumstances, and repudiated the interference of (to them) useless diplomacy. We dreamt not that political changes might menace our prosperity—we dreamt not that the commercial relations of other states could affect our public wealth and our national existence. That our confidence was misplaced—that our heedlessness was insensate—is exhibited alike by the returns of last year, and by your presence this evening in this place. But the groundlessness of that confidence—the insanity of that indifference—ought to have been inferred from other and not ephemeral data. A recent writer, who, in two small volumes, has given us a library of useful knowledge on public questions (I mean Mr. Porter), and who wrote in the height of prosperity during last year, says,—“Considering all the natural and acquired advantages we possess, it should rather excite surprise and regret that our commerce is so small, than engender pride because it is so large.” But it is not the smallness of the amount of our commerce which is calculated to inspire alarm, it is the absence of increase in that commerce in proportion to the increase of our manufacturing means—of our capital and our population—it is the absence of increase in proportion to the commerce of other nations—it is the proportionable decrease of our own commerce in regard to our own population and to foreign commerce—it is the defalcation during the last year—it is the circumstances which hold out the prospect of a still farther diminution—it is, above all, the decrease of our real resources, whilst expenditure is increased, whilst insecurity hangs over our colonies in the west, whilst war threatens our remote frontiers in the east, whilst war rages in central Asia, invasion menaces the shores of the Bosphorus, and American engineers are scattered along the frontier of Maine, and whilst the rumour of a defalcation in the treasury of Great Britain will be listened to with delight and re-

peated with exaggeration by the cabinet of Washington and that of St. Petersburgh—by the statesmen of the Tuilleries and those of Teheran—by the discontented in Canada and his majesty of Burmah. It is with these considerations pressing upon my mind—it is before this mighty presence of friends and of foes that the commercial interests of Great Britain, with an ennobling consciousness of their importance and their responsibility, have to come to the consideration of those practical questions in which they are immediately interested, and on which the welfare of millions depends. (Tremendous cheering.) Some of those who hear me may be stunned to learn that our exports of last year did not exceed our exports in the second year of this century, and were less than our exportation in the first year of the peace by £5,000,000 sterling—that our exports to Europe, immediately after the peace, amounted to £26,000,000 sterling, whilst our exports to Europe, during the unparalleled commercial activity of 1836, had fallen down to £18,000,000, and that the average of seven years immediately following the peace, and of the last seven years, shows a falling off of our commerce with our old customers of more than 20 per cent. ; while, at the same time, those countries have increased nearly 30 per cent. in population, and the producing population of England has been increased 25 per cent.—while the price of raw materials has, on an average, been reduced one-third—while the means of conveyance have been immensely extended, and the producing facilities of Great Britain, by steam and machinery, augmented to an extent equal to the addition of 30,000,000 to her population. It is not, therefore, 20 per cent. which would indicate the real decrease of our trade with Europe ; and if that decrease only did amount to 20 per cent., it would indicate a state of things sufficiently alarming, and calculated to awaken the most solicitous inquiry respecting our position. When, moreover, it is recollected that the territorial resources of Great Britain are restricted—that her population is receiving daily and enormous increase, it is evident that either new outlets must be found for our exports, and new demands for the products of our industry, or that a check will be given to population, the consequences of which cannot be contemplated without dismay. (Hear, hear, hear.) Between the years 1811 and 1831, our

population was increased 870,000 families, of which 65,000 alone were employed in agriculture; so that, in an augmentation of 34 per cent. upon the numbers of 1811, 2½ per cent. only were added to the agricultural population of the kingdom, the remainder being added to those occupied in manufactures and commerce. This rate of increase has gone on; and, out of 800 souls which are daily added to our people, 20 only find employment in agriculture, the remainder being added to the mass which derives subsistence, directly or indirectly, from foreign demand, and which is contingent for its well-being and its food on the progress of our traffic with other countries. [Mr. Urquhart here entered into a detailed review of our commerce with each state of Europe, indicating the amount and causes of decline arising from commercial restrictions, which the diplomacy of England had been ineffective to counteract, and from the violation of treaties to which we had submitted. He then continued, saying]—A nation stands, among other nations, as a commercial establishment: ignorance of its position must lead to ruin—deficiency of management to bankruptcy. Knowledge, habits of business, and talents, are the elements of commercial success; they are equally the elements of national prosperity. (Loud cheers.) Every one will allow the truth of these propositions, and few will be inclined to dispute the assertion, if made, that neither knowledge, habits of business, nor talents, have been applied to the conduct of our public affairs. How is it, therefore, that such evils do not bring their remedy, and that such convictions do not lead to the re-establishment of our position? If we admit that our affairs have been mismanaged, we must admit also that the management of our affairs has been misunderstood. That misunderstanding has given rise to doubt, while the course of public events constantly requires action. The introduction of party politics and opinions has not only neutralized the power of the nation, but it has prostrated the faculties of the mind. It has diverted public attention from all subjects of national interest; and so thoroughly has it decomposed the structure of the State, that there is scarcely a commercial firm in this great country which is not composed of individuals entertaining hostile opinions on every subject of national interest. But, while the power of the mind and the value of language—while

the worth of character and the influence of opinion, are laid altogether prostrate by the separation of Englishmen into parties adopting distinct and contradictory standards of what is right and what is wrong, there is even a still greater evil and a greater source of national weakness and danger, arising from the subdivision of interests and the separation of one branch of knowledge from another. The merchant alone thinks of commerce, the ship-owner only of shipping, the agriculturist only cares for crops, the knowledge of the manufacturer is confined within the narrow limits which are placed to his interests and his inquiries by the broker on the one hand from whom he buys, and by the broker on the other to whom he sells. This subdivision of labour is necessary and advantageous while occupying its due proportions ; but, in excess, it materializes the habits of men ; it reduces them to the state of machines, and, like those machines, their very perfection and efficiency become useless, when the intellectual combination is wanting, by which alone the advantages which they realize are rendered effective for the supply of the matter on which they are to act. The necessary result of the neglect by each class of men, of every interest save their own, is the non-comprehension of the connexion of their interests with those of others, and consequently of that mutual support and sympathy, that interchange of knowledge and of good services, which are the chief results derived from the association of men in society. Each class may view this state of things with considerable alarm, and even its common sympathies with distaste ; but there is no common ground on which they can meet—no common principle on which they can agree—each political doctor has a revelation and a recipe which are to unite all faiths and to cure all maladies ; but these remedies are to be administered by party means, that is, by strengthening the malady they are prepared to cure. (Hear, hear, and vehement cheering.) These party dissensions annihilate the power of this country as regards other states. They render ineffective the voice of a Government when it asserts our interests. They may render an English minister friendly, of necessity, to the combinations, and subservient to the patronage of a hostile and foreign diplomacy. On the other hand they render remonstrance at home unavailing—they smite with barrenness constitutional opposition. When recently the

leader of nearly 300 members of the Lower House, and of a majority of the House of Lords, demanded of the Government explanations regarding a national insult and a national outrage, he was refused a reply, and he was unable to press his suit. Why should Sir Robert Peel not obtain redress for the infraction, by Holland, of a treaty? Why?—Because he was a Tory. Had he pressed the matter to a division, would not the majority of the House have voted against British interests, and would not the same thing have happened had the other party been in power? And these men each in turn committed, through the aberration of the public mind, of which they are the sectional representatives, lose in themselves respect for that honour of which they are the guardians, and become cowardly in their own minds, through ignorance of their country's greatness. What must be the characters of the remedy to be applied to this state of things? A reproduction of the circumstances which called forth national feeling can alone restore the nation to whom feelings of nationality have been lost. The insular position of England, which has been our strength and our pride, the battle of Waterloo, which has been our glory and our boast, have combined to impress us during more than twenty years with an idea of security that nothing which human power can do can disturb; and from this feeling has arisen a contempt for other nations and a disregard for foreign events; and under the impression of this security have men not blushed, and not conceived it fool-hardiness or folly to commit their private intellect, and their public interests, to the guidance of party. (Loud cheers.) While Great Britain is thus crippled in her commercial resources—while her treaties with foreign powers are broken with impunity—her flag insulted with ostentation—while her revenue is diminishing, and her expenditure increasing—while respect for her name in foreign lands is fading away—whilst her colonial empire is shaken, and she is threatened at once with civil and foreign war in both extremities of her extensive dominions—while her population is divided into hostile factions, and her statesmen absorbed in parish disputes—contemptuous of every national interest, and regardless alike and ignorant of every foreign combination! While her national bulwarks are dismantled—her naval force unequal for contest—her ships of war unfit for action—her arsenals devoid of

stores—when foreign insignia are branded on the breasts of her representatives—this is the moment that an insen-sate cry of peace is raised, as if ever a cry for mercy could disarm an enemy, or as if some British hero were about to plant the standard of England on the ruins of the Kremlin—on the towers of Shoenbrunn. Let those who so eloquently and eagerly urge the blessings of peace impress this truth on the Muscovite allies. Peace resides in the mutual respect of two, and not in the intentions of one; and if readiness for war has ever been the guarantee against aggression, so must the indisposition to resist, encourage attack, and inability to defend, invite subjugation. (Cheers.) Your gunless ships, your mast-less arsenals, might fill the breasts of your allies with alarm—but, alas! it is your errors which give courage to become your enemies. The power of England does not reside in her bayonets—is not shadowed by her pen-nants—it resides in the confidence which nations repose in her integrity—in the trust that men have placed in her firmness and decision. Her supremacy can only be endangered by conquest, but aggression rallies strength around her, as the defender of endangered nationalities. When she proclaims herself the lover of peace at the expense of honour—when she asserts herself the friend of the powerful and the ally of the aggressor, she ceases to have a station amongst mankind, not because her fleets are disarmed, but because her character is sunk. My idea of the power of England has not been derived from the inspection of her dock-yards and her barracks (hear), but from the veneration with which her name is pronounced on the Atlas—by the glaciers of the Alps—on the heights of Pindus, and in the vales of Caucasus—on the plains of Poland, and the Steppes of Astrakan. The eyes of injured millions turn to

“The inviolate island of the sage and free”—

and endangered nations spreading from the Carpathians to the Himalaya look to her alone for union and de-fence. While such elements are at the disposal of Great Britain, she possesses unassailable power—that power will pass away only with the degeneration of her own mind, by an unnatural alliance with, and a despicable subserviency to, their oppressor and her own antagonist.

(Hear, hear, and loud cheers.) Another fallacy, far more common and far more injurious, is the idea of the valuelessness of colonies, and the advantage of their separation from the mother country. This opinion is supported by the assertion that the United States of America have been more advantageous as a free people to Great Britain than as a colony. If the assertion were true, the inference would only be, that the unjust and impolitic Acts which gave rise to their separation were justifiable, or that the governing principles of Great Britain are such, that a dependent state can neither benefit England, nor be benefited itself by the connexion; and this doctrine must consequently come to justify misgovernment on the one hand, and to sanction rebellion on the other. But it is not true that the separation of America has been beneficial to England. The Act which led to it was a violation of her own principles—the opposition which it raised, lacerated the fondest ties of her colonies and her subjects. The blood of thousands flowed in the unnatural struggle, and millions of treasure were expended in the untoward contest; above one hundred millions of debt were heaped on future ages, and the seeds of desolating war scattered over the continent of Europe. Had the war with America never taken place, or the separation of the colonies not been effected, the subsequent wars in Europe would probably have been avoided, and England would stand at this moment safe and pre-eminent. But though the loss of the United Colonies was not fatal to England, the loss of British India would certainly be fatal to the existence of this country. The commencing of troubles in our colonies in 1772 was the cause of the first partition of Poland, because England, endangered in the West, could not venture to defy the policy of Russia. Our embarrassments in our North American Colonies rendered us indifferent to the regenerated movement of Poland in 1791, and must have led, in 1792, to the loss of Constantinople, had a statesman and a warrior—the sovereign of Prussia—not felt the danger to Europe, and prepared to attack at once Austria and Russia, in defence of the Dardanelles. At this present hour, the few ships that England can spare, instead of being anchored in the Bosphorus, are despatched to the St. Lawrence; and, as the most fatal blow that Russia could aim at the existence of England would be the convulsion of her colonies,

so is the man who speaks of the benefit that would accrue to England from her colonial loss, the worst enemy of his country. (Cheers.) But whilst the prosperity and political power of Great Britain are contingent on her colonial empire, there are obligations even of a higher nature associated with that dominion. The confidence reposed in us by our subjects must be repaid neither by injustice nor by insecurity; and the empire which we have received from our forefathers, we must transmit undiminished to our children. Who can contemplate, without wonder and admiration, the energy and the intelligence of this country? but what avail energy, intelligence, wealth, or power if we are at war with ourselves? By union do small states become great; by disunion the greatest must crumble away. Never did England look upon so fearful a prospect as that which now lowers around her. The three maritime powers engaged in projects of aggrandizement. Asia, Africa, and South America threatened with wholesale conquest. The old principles of international law and right swept away from the European mind. Enormous military establishments in the midst of peace. And England subservient to the aggressions in which she cannot stir; encouraging the projects of which she must be the victim; adding state after state to the number of her foes by disregarding the appeal of the assaulted; and by yielding up points of right to those who venture to injure or insult. But this is not the prospect that fills me with dread and alarm; it is when I contemplate your public men that my mind misgives me. It is, above all, the sickening sight of your party broils that brings to every Briton who has been in a position to see and comprehend the diplomatic web now weaving round the destinies of this land, a feeling of sadness if not of despair. But may I hope that a spirit of union will spring from a sense of our common danger, and with it that preserving principles of national honour and dignity will be restored? Here, for the first time for many a year, appear assembled together the representatives of every shade of political opinion, met on common grounds, and delighted to extend to each other the right hand of long-forgotten citizenship. This union is the herald, let us hope, of better thoughts, and the first dawn of a national light, springing not from the exclusion of any party, but from the combination of all,

blending their sectional colours, and forming, like the light of heaven, beams of pure and brilliant whiteness from rays of varying hues. (Cheers.)

Mr. Sheriff ALISON was afraid that, in the contest of parties, great national objects had been lost sight of—he was afraid that the national welfare would be lost sight of, in the internal struggles between these parties. (Hear, and cheers.) In the struggle of who should govern the empire, the empire was slipping from our grasp. (Hear.) The states whom in their days of calamity we supported with our arms and resources, and whom we have protected, have uniformly turned against us, and have proved ungrateful, when gratitude was expected. Those states to whom we never had shown favour, and whom we never protected, respected the British flag, and honoured the British name. (Cheers.) But for them we might have been reduced from the highest to the lowest scale in the commercial world. (Hear, and cheers.) The only way to maintain the interests, and to increase the welfare of the people of England, is to protect and maintain our colonial empire, and that only can be successfully accomplished by a sedulous attention to our colonial interests. (Cheers.) It was very true that these countries were distant, but yet they were not aliens—they were our own descendants—they had the same prejudices, the same interests, and were identified with the prosperity of Great Britain. (Cheers.) To whom then should we look but to our Colonists for the maintenance of our maritime power and commercial greatness? The learned gentleman then entered into the argument of allowing the Colonies to be independent of the mother country, and contended that having the resources of trade and commerce within themselves, they (the Colonies) would do everything in their power to cripple the commercial supremacy of England—their general policy towards England would be similar to the system adopted by the independent European powers, and drew an analogy betwixt the United States when an appanage to the British Crown and the position these States now assume. (Cheers.) Lose your maritime power (continued the learned gentleman) and what might be the consequences of such a disastrous event? What would become of our manufactures?—indeed, what would be the use of them at all? By the loss of our

maritime supremacy, what would prevent—what was there to prevent—a hostile fleet blockading the Thames, the Mersey, or the Clyde?—(Hear, hear.) Of what service then would be our manufacturing greatness? Would our factories be converted into garrisons? Would our millions of artizans be competent, or so thoroughly trained, as to defend the country from foreign invasion? (Hear, hear.) Our main stay was in our maritime supremacy. The learned sheriff then alluded to the Canadas, and to Van Diemen's Land and Sidney, to which commerce was almost exclusively carried on in British bottoms. While the population was doubling every 20 years, and their commercial transactions at nearly an equal ratio—while our trade to Van Diemen's Land and Holland within these few years has increased in a tenfold degree, our shipping to the independent States of Europe has been manifestly on the decline. (Hear.) In allusion to the rebellion in Canada, he stated that, had the Canadians been successful in their attempts to throw off their allegiance to the mother country, the United States would have been hostile to the interests of Great Britain. Mr. Alison, after a few other remarks, proposed as a toast—"British America, and the maintenance of the colonial empire of Great Britain." The toast was drunk with great enthusiasm.

Mr. WALTER BUCHANAN spoke as follows:—It must afford great pleasure to all here present to have an opportunity of meeting on common grounds, and for the promotion of objects more important than those of party politics. No man can have listened to the statements of our distinguished guest without feeling a conviction that, however much weight he may be disposed to attach to questions of national or local politics, there are still other points, and fortunately points upon which there need be no difference of opinion, not less calculated to awaken deep interest. (Hear.) The administrative policy of the empire is far too important, and involves consequences too serious to the position, political as well as commercial, of this country, to admit of our folding our hands and shutting our eyes in indolent security, or blind disregard of the conduct of our public servants. (Cheers.) It requires no stretch of wisdom to see that the acts of our foreign minister and his subordinates throughout the world, though not so palpable to the public eye as

the debates in Parliament and the acts of the Home Government, do in reality as deeply affect the rights and interests of the country—its prosperity and its honour. Who, then, will say that this meeting is useless, if it shall evince an anxiety to watch over and canvass our foreign relations, and convey the impression to those in power, high though they may be, that they are not above the reach of public opinion, nor concealed from its anxious scrutiny. (Cheers.) Mr. Urquhart has described to us the present commercial position of Great Britain in relation to the continent of Europe. We are virtually excluded from the ports of the continent by the high tariffs everywhere established against us, to the exclusion of much of our commerce and nearly all our manufactures. Not at the time when Napoleon fulminated against us his Milan and Berlin decrees, and threatened to exterminate the “nation of shopkeepers” by a crusade against their trade, did there exist so much cause of alarm as at the present moment, after 25 years of peace. The stringent restrictions by which our commerce is everywhere opposed makes it hopeless to look to the nations of Europe as any longer consumers of our manufactures; in truth, they are now our rivals in third markets. (Hear.) In North and South America, in India and China, this rivalry is felt as of most serious consequence. Not only do the manufactures of the United States and of the Germanic league oppose us: we have heard, on the most competent authority, that in the markets of Central Asia the cotton goods of Moscow, and the iron wares of Tula, are displacing English manufactures. (Hear.) Thus even semi-barbarous Russia is our rival in manufacturing industry. Nor is this rivalry confined to a few articles only. It embraces a very wide range: Bohemian glass ware can be furnished at a price which makes British competition harmless. The low-priced cutlery of Germany is in the same position; fancy hosiery is in the same position; several kinds of dyed cottons and some descriptions of printed cottons are in the same position; they are regularly exported to neutral markets, from which they have expelled British goods. Nay, some descriptions are brought to our own country, and undersell us at our own door. The future prospect of the manufactures of Britain is by no means flattering. (Hear.) But these points are not alluded to for the purpose of exciting discussions

on the remedial policy which ought to be adopted ; important as such discussions are, they are out of place and foreign to the object of our present meeting. They are mentioned for the purpose of placing before us, in a strong point of view, the necessity of guarding, with care and anxiety, whatever rights of a commercial kind we may still possess. (Cheers.) It is the duty of British statesmen to see that no rights guaranteed to us by treaty should pass from us, and if, at all times, such vigilance is required, how much more so at the present inauspicious crisis of our commercial affairs. (Hear, hear, hear.) The minister who neglects the commerce of Great Britain, who postpones its interests for any other consideration, is following a suicidal policy, disgraceful to himself and destructive to his country. (Hear.) If there is truth in what we have heard to-night, there are many instances of infraction of those commercial treaties which ought to protect British trade, and unfortunately nearly as many instances in which those at the head of affairs have abused the important trust reposed in them for the protection of these rights. Going back to the treaty of Vienna, we find that important commercial rights were then guaranteed to Great Britain. We were secured commercial intercourse with Poland on the basis of our ancient intercourse. Those who are acquainted with the trade of Germany know how important was the trade with Poland as an outlet for our manufactured goods, as well for local consumption as for the transit trade carried through its territory to countries to the eastward. As early as 1819, Russia had infringed this compact, and since then she has extended her own tariff to Poland, with all its rigorous exclusion. Now, what have British statesmen done to resent this outrage? By word or action, nothing—positively nothing. (Hear.) The trade of the country is sacrificed, and there is neither remonstrance nor protest. At a later period a convention had been entered into between Russia, France, and England. It was dated July 1827, and ought to be memorable in British diplomacy, as originating those *untoward* events which commenced with the battle of Navarino. That treaty contained a stipulation, mutually adopted by the contracting parties, and forming the basis of their negotiations, that, under its operations, no party should acquire territorial aggrandizement or separate commercial ad-

vantages. How has this treaty been fulfilled! Great Britain, with her characteristic good faith, has adhered to it, but both of the other parties have utterly disregarded it. Notwithstanding her pledged faith to the contrary, Russia is seeking to possess herself of Circassia, to destroy the independence of that country. She wishes to extend to Circassia the blessings of her military rule, and to Britain the benefits of an extended Russian tariff. More than this, in violation of the treaty of Adrianople, Russia is now forming mercantile establishments in the island of Sulina, at the mouth of the Danube, by which the commerce of that great artery of Europe is placed at her entire disposal. (Hear.) By a *secret* article in a more recent treaty she has prevailed upon Turkey to debar the entrance of the Black Sea to ships of war of foreign states, thus placing the entire commerce of that sea at the mercy of Russia. It was impossible for the trade of Britain to be carried on in seas, when her ships of war had no access to afford that trade due protection. Witness the seizure of the *Vixen*, and the more recent instances in which British merchant-ships were obliged to bring to and lower their pennants by the guns of a Russian ship of war. If the secret article of the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi is to remain in force, to excluding British ships of war, it will in effect destroy our trade in the Black Sea, and all the trade beyond it, lately springing into importance with Circassia, Persia, and Central Asia. Yet when Lord Palmerston was questioned in Parliament in relation to this matter, his answer was that the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi was "among the things that had gone by;" and, strange to tell, this ambiguous meaningless answer satisfied the House of Commons. The empty benches, as his lordship stated, evinced the indifference of the house; and the question and answer were alike disregarded, except by a few individuals cognisant of the facts of the case, and not blinded to their country's disgrace. But Russia is not the only power that has been faithless to the Convention of July, 1827. By that treaty France was precluded from territorial acquisition in Turkish Africa; she had no right to extend her commercial tariff there, and seizing British vessels for an alleged violation of her regulations on that coast was an insult to the British nation. The examples of our imbecile policy unfortunately do not stop here.

So low has Britain fallen that on every hand she is treated with outrage. America, careless of keeping faith with England, and observing, with her usual shrewdness, that she will resent no insult, declines to abide by the arbitration of the King of Holland, settling the boundary of the state of Maine, although she had deliberately committed herself to his judgment. France has trespassed on our fishing grounds at Newfoundland, and her fishermen are every day plundering our own on the coast of Sussex, and yet these outrages on our very shores, though remonstrated against, are wholly overlooked. At the conclusion of the war Britain stood on high ground; she had acquired for herself a proud name among the nations of Europe, but the intoxication derived from this position was fertile of evil consequences. (Hear, hear.) We went to sleep, dreaming of our glory, and in the full confidence that nothing could occur to tarnish our fame; but, while we were thinking of our laurels, other nations were thinking of their interests. It is impossible to embrace the wide range of subjects which present themselves, and on which volumes upon volumes might be written, all alike demonstrative of our lowered position in foreign countries. (Hear.) To one or two points, however, with which from accidental circumstances I am acquainted, I have still further to request your attention. The first of these is the question of the Java duties. Never was more procrastination, more useless and imbecile negotiations, more tolerance of undeniable invasion of our rights submitted to by a British minister, than has been done in relation to Java. The evil has gone on for the last 13 years, and it is to this moment increasing in aggravation. (Hear.) Even our latest arrivals inform us of an increase of duties on British commerce, and various measures directed to the destruction of our trade with the islands of the Archipelago. Holland never slumbers for a moment—our statesmen seem to slumber for ever. Lord Palmerston has repeatedly stated in Parliament that, according to his interpretation of the treaty of 1824, the commercial rights of Britain were infringed upon by the Dutch. Two years ago, he stated that, if immediate redress was not afforded, it was his determination to bring the whole matter before Parliament, and ask for advice. Instead of following out this pledge, what has taken place? Nothing but indications of the most determined purpose

to shuffle out of the whole matter. Constant remonstrances and applications have been addressed to him by the commercial bodies throughout the country, and by none more frequently than by the merchants of this city. These applications have been uniformly met by evasive and shuffling answers. Doubtless, gentlemen are aware of the nature of these answers. Many of you must have had the pleasure to receive these interesting communications—two-thirds of which contain a recapitulation of your own letter, and the remaining third, an assurance that it will be taken into consideration, which, in plain English, means that it will be thought of no more. (Cheers.) Yet our trade with Java is of no small importance, and, in the present state of our manufactures, we cannot afford to lose it. He is not fit to be the Foreign Minister of Britain who does not know, or cannot value, its importance. On a late occasion, when pressed by Sir Robert Peel, as to what steps he meant to take in relation to Java, Lord Palmerston stated that a new and unforeseen difficulty had arisen on the subject. It had been discovered, said his lordship, that we had not ourselves implemented this treaty in British India. (Hear.) Now, what will you think if I tell you that this discovery had been made two years before, and not only discovered but discussed, and not only discussed but printed, and formed part of the minutes of a conference held with the London East India and China Association, and other gentlemen deputed from the provinces, of whom Mr. Kirkman Finlay was one. And yet his lordship means it no doubt to be understood that this great discovery was made in the course of his arduous labours to forward the interests of British trade. In the mean time Holland is increasing her manufactures, and the trade of Britain is being expelled from the island of Java. Then let us look to China: A nobleman, as high in character as in rank, had been sent to Canton to protect British interests. We ask not whether the instructions which he carried with him were wise or the reverse. When we say that the representative of the British Government was treated with insult, annoyed with wanton indignities, harassed in every form, nay, almost murdered by the barbarians to whom he was deputed, it will no doubt be supposed that a speedy vengeance overtook the aggressors. And yet, as far as I know, the subject has scarcely been noticed in Parlia-

ment, or formed a subject even of conversation beyond the limited circle of merchants interested in the trade. Would America have submitted to this? Would France have submitted to it? The first thing they would have done would have been to have sent a couple of frigates to vindicate their national honour. Why did not England adopt the same course? Was she not equally powerful? Was she not equally interested to protect her commercial rights? The reclamations on the Brazil government for seizures, during the blockade of Buenos Ayres, were made by France and America, as well as England. The two first sent ships of war to Rio de Janeiro, to enforce the remonstrances of their diplomatic agents, and the consequence was, that the merchants of these countries received speedy payment. How different was the fate of the English merchants! Year after year passed, and they had the assurance and consolation to think that the Foreign Office gave their claims due attention, but they received no money. I need not state here, where the circumstances raised so much interest, what indignation was excited by this procrastinating policy. Many gentlemen know well that, if it had not been for the exertions of Mr. J. Dixon, then member for the Glasgow burghs, a favourable result might not have been obtained. To his honour be it said, and it ought never to be forgotten in this city, he went down, night after night, to the House of Commons, and allowed Lord Palmerston no rest till his constituents had recovered their past claims. (Cheers.) The same delay in a more recent instance has occurred in enforcing the claims of our merchants on the Brazil government for the property destroyed by a revolutionary mob at Para; and, in this instance, there was the additional aggravation, that the British minister was obviously unwilling to take up the question at all, even after the crown lawyers had given a decided opinion in favour of the British claimants. Will the same course be followed at Bahia, in the case which has just now occurred? and where our Admiral on the Brazil station has alleged that he had instructions from the Foreign Office not to interfere actively to protect British property, confining himself to succouring those who might apply to him and their property, as far as his ship was available. It is needless to follow out these instances—they are unfortunately too numerous. The Minister of Foreign Affairs for a country

like Britain, in the very nature of things, cannot repose on a bed of roses. He would require qualities of a high kind, intelligence, energy, vigilance, &c. ; must be unimpeachable in honour, incorruptible in fidelity. Such a man would deserve the gratitude of his country. Have the public servants of Britain deserved such gratitude ? With this meeting I leave the answer. It has been already said that the present state of our commercial relations had some analogy to what Napoleon proposed to himself when he issued his proscriptive decrees against British trade. In one other respect, we perceive an analogy to the times of Napoleon. It was a favourite object of his ambition to attack Britain through her Indian empire, knowing well that in no other way could he inflict upon us so deadly a wound. Russia now entertains the same project, nor are they less likely to be accomplished by her, because she follows them out peacefully and silently, by artifice and intrigue, rather than by violence. The spies of Russia are spread throughout Central Asia—they have approached the Indus—they have been tracked to Bombay. It has been placed beyond doubt that it is an ultimate object with the cabinet of St. Petersburgh to root out the British power in Hindostan. When we trace her power in Europe, and still more her secret influence, we need not wonder at such extended views. Bavaria is her tool—Greece is almost her own province—Prussia is nearly allied with her—Holland is in the same situation. And may we not fairly ask, has England escaped this influence ? Has she never submitted to Russian dictation, never been the victim of Russian intrigue ? Russia hates England, because she is the enemy of everything like English intelligence and liberality. She hates her free institutions, and her love of international justice. In the train of Russian conquest there follows no civilisation, no wise and good laws, no enlightened institutions, no improvements in art or science. Barbarous military rule is the gift which she confers on her tributary states. And this is the blessing which she will confer on Hindostan, when she has advanced her frontier beyond the Indus. If the power of Russia is as great, and her ambition as gigantic, it surely is incumbent on the government to look well to our present position, and to allow no advantages to be given up which we at present possess. These pri-

vileges, which have been secured to us by treaties, are the property of the country, and the minister who passes from them is an enemy to her best interests. I have to propose as a toast—"The Commercial Interests of Great Britain, secured by her Treaties with Foreign States."

Mr. SMITH, of Jordan Hill, proposed as a toast, "Circassia, the bulwark of the British possessions in India." He believed to most part of the company the mere mention of the name of Circassia might call up nothing but romance, recollecting the manly form and female loveliness of the inhabitants. (Cheers.) The Circassians were comparatively unknown to them, until Mr. Urquhart, their distinguished guest, had, single-handed and unprotected, thrown himself upon them—a barbarous nation—and acquired that ascendancy over them, which he well might from his greatness of mind and singleness of purpose. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) He (Mr. Urquhart) was the first to propose that they should put themselves in possession of a national flag—and who that had read the history of mankind—and even the history of Scotland—was not aware of the good effects produced by having a rallying point in a national colour? (Cheers.) He reminded them of the case of Prince Charles when he landed in Scotland, in hoisting the colours of that ancient family to which he belonged (cheers); and afterwards called upon them to remember, that, to the important interests of Circassia, their guest, Mr. Urquhart, had applied himself with great vigour. After some other observations in reference to the importance of Circassia—which was the central link of a great chain—and which contained the Caucasus, a ridge of mountains so important as the key to our Indian empire—Mr. Smith proposed the toast, which was received with all the honours.

Mr. URQUHART, in acknowledging the toast, "Circassia, the bulwark of the British possessions in India," said—As, in some sort, representative of Circassia in this country. I beg to acknowledge the honour you have done that new-born state, and to thank you for the sympathy you have expressed for its welfare and its growth. Mr. Smith has said, that until very recently the name of Circassia would only have called forth thoughts of fable or romance, or visions of manly beauty or female grace. Circassia still is the land of poetry and romance, but it has ceased to be that of mystery or of fable; and though

the fame of its loveliness has alone hitherto reached the shores of Western Europe, the disciplined thousands and hundreds of thousands of the Czar have learned to appreciate its manly virtues and heroic deeds. (Cheers.) If you have hailed with enthusiasm the rising of this new star of the East because it is bright, lovely, and poetic, what would not be your calmer satisfaction if, when contemplating this new emblem rising from the Caspian, and shining over Elbrouz, you could but have beheld a real representative of that people, and a sample of the garrison of the Caucasus—of the defenders of your Indian empire—comely in aspect, vigorous of frame, with the eye of the eagle, and the limb of the roe, and combining the sternness of the clansman with the suavity of the courtier, and the simplicity of the child? (Cheers.) It is utterly impossible for me by words to convey the sentiment of admiration, and the feeling of attachment with which that people has inspired me; but it is not on me alone that such impressions have been made. Two English vessels have touched their shores, and from the captain to the cabin boy, every Briton who has landed on the coast, has been seized by the fascination of this land of romance, and been filled with enthusiasm for a race, the representatives, in these heartless days, of the moral existence and poetic intercourse of the primeval ages of man. (Cheers.) Two of your fellow-countrymen have for a year been resident among these—as Russia informs us—savage bandits and stealers of men; one of these a townsman of your own, and the friend of many who now listen to me. His affection for the Circassians; his estimate of their character as men—of their value to us as a people—has grown with every month of residence amongst them, and he now stands the principal link between the Caucasus and England and Europe. Although the Circassians amount to between three and four millions, still only a fraction of those more exposed by their position have borne the brunt of the war. No combination has existed among them; they had no watch-word, no rallying-point, no common representation or supreme authority; they have had no connexion with foreign powers, no diplomatic system, no stores or arsenals, no discipline, no flag. How, therefore have they been able to maintain their independence, to foil the diplomacy, and to resist the discipline, of their aggressors? How have they been

enabled to oppose a barrier against the southward outbreak of the nomade and teeming north? They have been enabled to do so by the value of individual worth, by the strength of single heroism. The child there, like the nursling of Sparta, is considered the property of the community, and educated for the common good, by a discipline alike of the mind and of the frame, giving fortitude and sobriety to the first, endurance and dexterity to the second. The child, placed under the care of a foster-father, returns not to its home until he has won his rights of manhood by some martial deed. The chiefs of the people, until they enter the declining vale of life, yearly spend some months in the fields or in the mountains, placing themselves on a level, as regards the comforts of existence, with the lowest of their fellow-countrymen. I was first led to conceive the design of visiting Circassia by speculations entirely of a political character, into which I need not now enter, but which led me to the conclusion that the resistance that was there opposed to Russia was connected with high moral character, and with associations of honour and of glory. I conceived that the secret of Russia was to be read in the Caucasus, and that there resided elements for a combination most essential to the greatness of England, most important to the well-being of mankind. Under these convictions, I resolved on penetrating the fable of mysteries that environed the shore of Cholcos, or to perish in the attempt. (Cheers.) I did land on that shore unarmed and alone—I did read that mystery—I did see the truth of my calculations, and the reality of these elements; and, within four-and-twenty hours, did I find myself seated on the summit of a knoll, the Cuban running at my feet, and before me rolled out the interminable vistas of the plains of Muscovy, traced with Calmuck lines, and dotted with Cossack pulcks, while around me were assembled, in all the splendour of their antique array, thousands of breasts sheathed in warrior mail and the proud representatives of national majesty. (Applause.) Here I beheld the only people from Nova Zembla to Tangier—from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean—prepared to avenge an insult, or resist an injury from the Czar of Muscovy. (Cheers.) Then it was that the involuntary oracle burst from my lips, “ You are no longer tribes but a people; you are Circassians, and this is Circassia.” (Great cheering.) But in “ Cir-

cassia," a press—a common language—was wanting. The new conception could not be conveyed by syllogism, or enforced by reasoning; a simpler vehicle was necessary, and a common, a national emblem presented itself to my mind as at once the only herald of publicity and the only rhetoric by which national sympathies could be awakened, and common conviction established. But a flag or a colour acquires its power from the past—from association with great men—or with useful principles in times gone by—whose fame or whose memory, as they float down the stream of time, are linked with the feelings of men's infantine years, and become the expression of admiration for what is great, of love for what is good. (Great cheering.) Circassia, with an ancestry of five thousand years, presented no such associations; no hero had repelled a conqueror—no legislators had given freedom and prosperity by institutes and laws—the arms of no family could be selected as the emblem of noble devotion—the symbol of no institution be adopted as the expression of national unity—from the naked necessities of the moment, therefore, was the colour to be derived—according to the circumstances and the feelings of the day were the devices to be selected. Green, the colour that robes their mountains, and that indicates the faith of Mecca, was that which I chose. On it I placed a bundle of arrows, their peculiar arms, and a crown of stars, that in the nightly bivouack they might associate their independence with the works of their Creator, and the glories of the Heavens. This language, speaking through the eye to the heart, was understood; a cry of union arose on the Euxine, and spread to the Caspian—a new nation was called into existence. (Great and continued cheering.) If a new world was not called into life, a new people was created calculated to change the destinies of the old. That people are the doorkeepers of Asia, and the champions of Europe. (Cheers.) On either side of the rampart of the Caucasus spreads a mote of 600 miles, while beyond these, to the east, stretches the Indian bulwark of the Himalaya, and to the west the European defences of the Carpathians. An impassable belt of 3,000 miles is thus drawn between the warlike hordes of the north, and the wild people of the south, and the only breaks in the link are the two passes of the Caucasus, open only while the Circassians are disunited. The Roman and the Persian empires in their

strength found it necessary to close these gates. In their rivalry they combined to defend the Caucasus. That barrier necessary to your defence is now at your disposal, and that people, in self-defence, call on you for protection. (Great applause.) Yet it was on that coast, and before the eyes of this people, that an outrage unheard of was perpetrated on the British flag, and that—I blush as a man, and I tremble as a Briton to record it—England submitted to the outrage, and justified it by a falsehood. An English vessel, the “Vixen,” was captured by a Russian cruiser while peaceably trading with an independent people, and now bears along these coasts weapons of death and the pennant of Russia. Had Circassia from time immemorial been a dependency of Russia, the seizure of the Vixen would have equally been an outrage on England, and a violation not only of international law but of peace; but England and Russia have reciprocally bound themselves by the treaty of the 6th July, entered into for “the pacification of the east,” to seek no accession of territory or any exclusive commercial or political advantages. The plea put forward by Russia, and eagerly grasped by England, of the occupation of the coast in question, by a Russian force, an assertion which itself is false, is a violation of compact and of treaty; yet this violation is admitted—nay invented, to justify the seizure of a vessel which went to that coast under the sanction and patronage of the British government itself—exhibiting a complication of infamy unheard of amongst mankind, and which must doom the perpetrator to enduring execration. You ask what can be done to maintain the independence of Circassia: I reply in the words of the toast you have just drunk, “Maintain your rights as secured by treaty”—cease to strengthen Russia in your dishonour—cease to humiliate Circassia in your disgrace—avenge the piratical seizure of a British vessel before the eyes of the Circassians—maintain that position in the world which will overawe their ruthless aggressor—repay, as men, the sympathy which they offer and the admiration which they feel, and you will do for their independence as much as warlike triumphs can effect—and obtain for yourselves that security which fleets and armies may not restore, when Circassia is lost. (Cheers.) It was on the shores of Circassia that I first learned to appreciate the strength of England in the union of the interests of mankind, with

her prosperity. (Tremendous cheering.) It was there, too, that I learned to appreciate the effect of English commerce on the integrity of her principles, and on the destinies of the minor states. As conducive, therefore, no less to the greatness of England than to the independence of every threatened nationality, as to that of the struggling Circassians, I beg to propose "The Union of the Commercial Interests of Great Britain, for the extension of their commerce and the defence of their rights."

Mr. HUME, of Edinburgh, in rising to propose the toast of "The Sultan Mahmoud, the nearest commercial ally of Great Britain," said,—The distinguished individual whose health I am about to propose, has signal claims on the sympathies of this meeting, both from his efforts to elevate the condition of his country, and his deep personal interest in the objects for which we are assembled. (Cheers.) Notwithstanding the neglect of early education, and his having been nursed in what we have been accustomed to consider as a dark and immutable fanaticism, such was the compass of his intellect, his power of discriminating character, and indomitable resolution, that from the moment he assumed the sceptre of St. Sophia, no monarch ever strove with more ardent zeal to improve the condition of his people, to imbue them with a knowledge of the arts of civilization, and develope their national resources, than Mahmoud II. Sultan of Turkey. (Loud cheers.) From the time of his accession he perceived the fallen state of his country—no longer the fleets of Barbarossa and Occhiali swept the Levant and Mediterranean uncontrolled; but as he well knew the singular adaptation of Turkey for a maritime power, both from her locality and the richness and variety of her products, he longed to exalt her to that position she was entitled to claim among the nations. (Cheers.) Perhaps no prince was ever placed under more appalling difficulties. Assailed by most powerful enemies from without, and distracted by anarchy within, none but a man of surpassing genius and resolution would have dared to encounter them. For more than twenty years he has been struggling up under his difficulties, and would in all likelihood have mastered them had not the disastrous result of Navarino annihilated his navy, and enabled his implacable foe Russia to seize upon Varna and the southern bank of the Danube, and

thus obtain the mastery of the Euxine. He never forgot, however, the great object of his policy—a substantial alliance with England. For this he had many reasons; England was not only the chief commercial power, but she alone of all the maritime states had a common interest with him. He felt that the integrity of his Asiatic provinces would act as a barrier against Russian aggression on our Indian empire, and as our trade with the Black Sea and the coast towns of Asia Minor had been constantly improving, he endeavoured thereby to conciliate our favour. (Cheers.) But such has been the vacillation in that branch of our public service under all our administrations, that so little advantage has he derived, as evinced in his last severe crisis, when the victorious legions of Ibrahim Pacha were almost at the gates of his capital, he solicited the mere presence of the English fleet in the sea of Marmora, but was denied it, and was thus compelled to throw himself into the arms of the Calmucks, where he now lies writhing, Laocoön like, within their serpent coils. (Cheers.) Now, when Russia is likely soon to grasp the keys of the Hellespont, and bind it with a chain more enduring than that which Xerxes contemplated—when France is possessed of so large a share of the Barbary coast, and her and the Austrian marine receiving such accessions, our free navigation *even* of the Mediterranean may become a questionable matter. (Hear, hear.) Ought we not, therefore, to unite with the Sultan to repel the encroachments of Russia, and thereby arrest the aggrandisement of a power so likely to be fatal to European tranquillity? (Cheers.) Fain would Turkey yet repose on the strong arm of England, but our equivocal and nerveless policy has so often repulsed her, as to have left her to the tender mercies, and tossed her into the foul embrace of the Bear. Being persuaded that the great interests of our country are coincident with the preservation of the Turkish empire, I beg to propose “Sultan Mahmoud of Turkey, the commercial ally of Great Britain.” (The toast was drank with great applause.)

Captain WESTMACOTT, in proposing the next toast, “Our distinguished countryman, Mr. M’Neil, and the independence of Persia,” said,—None of you can entertain a doubt, after what you have this evening heard, either of the importance of a knowledge of the East to

the most vital interests of Great Britain, or of the extreme difficulty that attends the acquisition of such knowledge ; it is, therefore, with extreme satisfaction that I rise to propose the health of a man pre-eminent not only by the powers of his mind, but by the successful application of those powers to the study of that interesting and difficult field of human knowledge, and of British interests. While I, therefore, have the satisfaction of bearing testimony to the merits of an individual so distinguished and so useful, I feel that I may be conferring a benefit on those around me, whose interest in our public, our foreign, and our Eastern position, has this evening been as unequivocally expressed, by pointing out to them one merit amid a thousand blots—and one voice associated with British diplomacy, which is a source of confidence to our allies and ourselves. (Cheers.) What can be done, with such inadequate power at his disposal, that Mr. M'Neil will accomplish, but to enable him to effect any useful object, to secure the independence of Persia, and to give the people confidence in our intentions, a new system must give security to the Shah, that our future conduct towards him shall be more generous than the past. So long as we retain possession of India—so long we must maintain the integrity of Persia. If Persia were incorporated with Russia, or if the Shah were to become subservient to her views, and place the armies and resources of his country at her disposal, our dominions in India would no longer exist—(hear, hear)—and yet this is a result to which events must lead, unless we extend effective support to Persia. The weight of our national influence is at present made subservient to the extension of Russian power, and to the subversion of our own. By the article of a treaty concluded by Sir John Malcolm on the part of Great Britain with the King of Persia in 1800, when our Indian empire was threatened by an invasion, Persia bound herself to assist us against that power, and we guaranteed to defend her against her enemies. The alliance between the Crowns of Great Britain and Persia, was confirmed by a treaty, concluded in 1810 by Sir Harford Jones. The recent erasure of that article of the treaty, by which we bound ourselves to defend Persia, is so strange and unaccountable, that it could alone have been accomplished through Russian influence in our Foreign-office. It has placed Persia at

the mercy of a grasping and ambitious foe, that has robbed her of Georgia, and other valuable possessions, and thirsts for farther conquest. This abandonment of treaty was an act of treachery to an ally—an act of treachery to British interests, and was perhaps one of the foulest blots that ever stained our diplomacy. (Cheers.) But the disastrous consequences of the abandonment of that treaty, and of the want of principle it involves, are not confined to Persia, but are felt through the wide regions of Central Asia. They are bruited abroad by Russian emissaries to lower our character, to expose our helplessness, and our servility to her power. We have neither envoys, consuls, nor emissaries, at Caubul, Khiva, Bokhara, or any of the courts of Central Asia, to counteract Russian influence, or to deny Russian falsehoods. The statements she puts forth to the population of those regions of her having effected our separation from Persia, and of the seizure of a British merchant vessel in the Euxine, are uncontradicted; and the dishonour of our flag, the sacrifice of an ally, and the abandonment of a treaty, have deprived us of the respect and estimation of the nations between the Caspian and the Indus. The disastrous character of our diplomatic relations must soon sacrifice our commerce, as it has already our political supremacy in Persia, and will eventually be attended by the same disagreeable and dangerous consequences in the region of Central Asia. Our commerce with those countries already amounts to between five and six millions sterling, with the prospect of an enormous increase by the opening of the Indus, and the introduction of steam navigation on the Indian rivers. Granting that the sacrifice of that commerce is of no moment to Great Britain, and that it is of no consequence to us that it should swell the resources of Russia, a postulate that cannot, I presume, be conceded, we must look to its consequences as effecting the security of our dominions in India. India has long excited the cupidity of the Czar, and has already felt the disturbing influence of Russian intrigue—her emissaries have been detected in our territory as far south as Bombay. But Persia under her dominion, or the resources of Persia at her disposal, Russia would be enabled to direct the energies of central Asia against India in the event of a war. The total military force of central Asia falls little short of 200,000

men, with 220 pieces of cannon, while the army of British India consists of only 223,000 men. Her increased proximity to our frontier would give support to the disaffected, and promise to the ambitious—our subjects would begin to estimate their strength, our allies to calculate on our fall. This would compel the necessity of an enormous increase of our military force, and add to our financial embarrassment, already a heavy burden on our Indian empire. A residence of twelve years in India, chiefly on our northern frontier, and a patient attention to the subject, has led me to the following convictions. That to secure our empire in the East against the influence and eventual hostility of Russia, we must maintain the independence of Circassia, of Turkey, and of Persia—establish commercial relations with those powers already well-disposed towards us, and anxious to obtain an alliance, as a guarantee against the designs of their powerful neighbour. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. URQUHART said:—In the absence of Mr. M'Neil's brother, who has not been able to leave his duties in Edinburgh, I beg to return thanks, for though not connected by relationship with Mr. M'Neil, I am linked with him by the stronger ties of opinion in all that regards those questions for the advancement of which we are now met.

Mr. Sheriff ALISON, then, in a short but eloquent address, gave “The unrestricted navigation of the Black Sea.” (Drunk with great applause.)

The CHAIRMAN next proposed “The restoration of our Naval and Military defences,” amidst loud cheers.

The LORD PROVOST then vacated the chair, and the company shortly afterwards separated.

TO DAVID URQUHART, ESQ.

Glasgow, 30th April, 1838.

WE, the undersigned Merchants, Manufacturers, Bankers, and others, connected with the commercial interests of Glasgow, viewing with anxiety the present distressed condition of the commercial and manufacturing interests of Great Britain and Ireland—the diminution of our foreign and internal trade—the increasing deficiency in the public revenue—the exclusion of our com-

merce from countries open from time immemorial to British industry—and the still unredressed injuries inflicted by foreign states on our merchants and capitalists (evils which more or less affect the interests of all classes of Her Majesty's subjects), and appreciating the profound commercial knowledge and enlightened views, advocated and illustrated in your various works on the East, and especially those principles of commerce developed in "Turkey and its Resources;"—Understanding that you are about to visit Scotland, respectfully solicit the favour of your affording to the mercantile community of Glasgow, an opportunity of hearing from yourself a more detailed elucidation of those commercial principles, a knowledge and diffusion of which, we conceive, will be highly beneficial to the interests of this community, and of the empire at large.

(Signed by the Lord Provost, Messrs. Henry Monteith and Co., and 330 Mercantile Houses, including Bankers.)

TO THE MERCHANTS, MANUFACTURERS, BANKERS,
AND OTHERS, OF THE CITY OF GLASGOW.

Lanark, 10th May, 1838.

GENTLEMEN,—I hasten to acknowledge the receipt of the flattering invitation with which you have honoured me.

I have devoted my life to the study of our commercial and manufacturing interests in their bearing on our internal prosperity, as well as on our external character, policy, and position.

I had at one period the satisfaction of thinking that my labour had not been misapplied, when the Government of this country adopted my views in regard to, perhaps, the most important interests of Great Britain beyond the shores of this island.

I now feel that a higher reward was to be attained, and a more useful result to be secured, namely, the approbation and concurrence of my fellow-countrymen, which I now receive at your hands.

The prolonged neglect of our national interests, a neglect in which all parties and every class have equally participated, has produced the evils you lament, and the

danger you foresee; but Britain's power and strength, her energy and resources, are unimpaired; her supineness alone is the cause of injury and of danger. The expression, however, of those views which your invitation contains, and the common convictions pervading so intelligent and powerful a body of British merchants, offer the assurance that henceforward no administration will be able to neglect our commercial rights and to disregard our national honour.

It is with mingled feelings of pride and humility that I perceive that you have associated my name with so auspicious a return of public opinion to its ancient and its national course.

With every sentiment of gratitude and respect,
I have the honour to be,
Gentlemen,
Your most obedient humble servant,
DAVID URQUHART.

At a Meeting of Merchants, Manufacturers, and others, held in the Star Hotel, on Saturday, the 26th instant,

Wm. GRAHAM, Esq., in the chair,

It was Resolved,

1st. That this meeting, being deeply impressed with the conviction that the foreign and internal trade of this country is in so alarming a position, that it becomes imperatively the duty of this great mercantile community to bring their opinions under the notice of Her Majesty and the Imperial Parliament.

2d. This meeting being convinced, from the late able expositions made by Mr. Urquhart, in this city, of this country's relative position with foreign states, and the alarming position of our foreign trade, that he is eminently qualified to draw up a representation of the restrictions and grievances with which the trade of this country has to contend; therefore, that he be respectfully requested to draw up an address to the Queen and petitions to both Houses of Parliament, bearing on these subjects.

3d. That in order to get Mr. Urquhart to continue and follow out his zeal for the success of the British commercial question which he has so long ably advocated, and more recently elucidated in this city, he be requested to

present the address personally to the Queen, and to select two proper Members of the Upper and Lower Houses of Parliament, who will present the petitions and advocate their prayer.

(Signed) W.M. GRAHAM, Chairman.

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(COPY.)

TO THE MERCANTILE COMMUNITY OF GLASGOW.

Glasgow, 28th May, 1838.

GENTLEMEN,—I beg to thank you for the honour you have done me in requesting me to draw up an address to Her Majesty and a petition to both Houses of Parliament, on the critical position of this country, in so far as it has resulted from the mismanagement, for a series of years, of our foreign relations, the sacrifice of our allies, the injury which our trade has, in consequence, sustained, and the insults which have been put upon our honour and our flag; but, after maturely considering the question, I feel that I ought to decline any participation in a measure of so great importance, apprehending that the effect of the expression of your sentiments would be diminished if it could be supposed that your language was not the spontaneous emanation of your own convictions.

I shall be proud to present, in your names, the address of this great community to the Queen; and I shall use my best endeavours to secure the presentation of your petitions to Parliament by Members of each House concurring in their sentiments, and prepared to support their prayer.

I seize this opportunity to express to you my warm acknowledgments for the distinguished hospitality I have received in your city, and for the unanimous and zealous support which you have given to the great national views of which I have been the organ.

I leave Glasgow with increased confidence in a speedy and auspicious change in the position of Great Britain among the nations of the world, which I shall attribute, in no small degree, to the support which these opinions on international policy have received from you.

I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) DAVID URQUHART.

*To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, the humble
Address of the undersigned Merchants, Manufac-
turers, Bankers, Shipowners, and Others, of the City
of Glasgow.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

We, Your Majesty's loyal subjects, approach Your Majesty with feelings of the deepest respect, and with sentiments of unfeigned homage and attachment to Your Majesty's royal person and august family, being firmly persuaded that whatever affects the glory of that mighty empire, over which Providence has called you to rule, or the interests of your people, with which that glory is inseparably united, will instantly recommend itself to Your Majesty's gracious attention.

We humbly, yet earnestly beseech Your Majesty, therefore, to consider the present depressed condition of the commercial and manufacturing interests of Great Britain and Ireland, coincident as that depression is with the alarming progressive diminution of our foreign trade—the increasing deficiency in the public revenue—the exclusion of our commerce from countries which have been open from time immemorial to British industry—the unredressed injuries inflicted by foreign states on our commerce—by infraction of treaties—by restrictions on our trade, and insults which they have been permitted to offer with impunity, to the national flag.

Feeling that, as sovereign of this empire, Your Majesty has the first and deepest interest in the public welfare and the national honour, we are assured that Your Majesty will deem these subjects of unspeakable importance, and will condescend to listen to the prayer of your subjects, that an immediate inquiry should be instituted into the causes of that rapid declension of prosperity, which we have thus brought under Your Majesty's notice.

We would respectfully advert to the loss of external respect, which has followed from the system of diplomacy which has been pursued for a series of years.

The consequences of that diplomacy have been to leave us defenceless in every quarter of the world ; to compromise the existence of Turkey, as an independent sovereign power, and thereby to destroy the natural barrier to encroachments on the east of Europe—to abandon Circassia, the bulwark of our Indian possessions, to the conquest of Russia—to reduce Persia to the condition of a Russian dependency—to exclude the British merchant entirely from the coasts of the Black Sea, where a most lucrative trade could be carried on—to enable the Dutch Government to evade the obligations of a treaty (1824), and to impose illegal duties on our exports to Java, whereby many of us have been deeply injured—to tolerate the establishment, in Africa, of a French colony, an enterprise contrary to a specific treaty—to exclude our manufactures from the European markets, by a high scale of duties, contrary to existing treaties—to tolerate encroachments on our fishing grounds at Newfoundland, and even on the British coast—to permit the destruction of the ancient nationality of Poland, and the independence of Cracow—to annihilate the British claims on Greece : we pass over the difficulties in which this country is involved as regards our relations with Spain and Portugal, with the United States of America, with the empire of Brazil, and the Government of Mexico.

In bringing these subjects before Your Majesty, we entertain a confident assurance, founded as much on the high character of Your Majesty as on the example of your royal predecessors, that you will use your power and influence to cause foreign nations to respect those treaties which they have contracted with Great Britain ; and that it will be a gratification to Your Majesty to extend your protection to the merchants and shipowners of your native country.

If the power of Britain has declined in the eyes of other nations, and we grieve to add that such is our impression, it can only be attributable to the supineness and ignorance of those whose duty it has been to watch over our external connexions.

We, therefore, under the solemn conviction of our present alarming position, humbly implore Your Majesty to demand and obtain redress for the injuries and insults offered to our flag ; to maintain the rights of British commerce against any power which may presume to

infringe thereon; and to uphold the national character, by a display of that vigour and energy which should always distinguish the councils of this great nation.

We have only to express our hope, that Your Majesty will not pass our prayer unheeded, or permit our wrongs to remain unredressed; and, with the most profound feelings of respect and devotion to Your Majesty's Crown and Person,

We shall ever pray.

Glasgow, June, 1838.

Unto the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled; the Petition of the undersigned Merchants, Manufacturers, Bankers, Shipowners, and Others, of the City of Glasgow;

HUMBLY SHOWETH,

That We, the undersigned Merchants, Manufacturers, Bankers, Shipowners, and Others, of the City of Glasgow, had the honour to sign and forward a Petition to your Honourable House, on the 12th April, 1836, calling the attention of your Honourable House to the state of the British commercial relations with Turkey, Persia, and the Levant, and to the injury these relations had suffered from the aggressive acts of Russia; and urging your Honourable House to give your earnest attention to those important subjects. We have again to approach your Honourable House with the expression of the increased anxiety and alarm with which we view the present distressed condition of our foreign trade—our position with foreign states—the exclusion of our commerce from countries open, from time immemorial, to British industry—the unredressed injuries inflicted on British merchants by foreign powers—by infraction of treaties, and insults to our flag.

It is only by the abandonment of our power to resist aggression, secret or avowed, and the sacrifice of our rights, that Great Britain can be endangered, and it is only in consequence of the loss of strength she has incurred by the estrangement of allies, and the sacrifice of her national character, that any power could presume to

form designs hostile to the peace of the world or Great Britain.

Considering the Dardanelles as the most important geographical, military, and political position in the world, we look upon the free navigation of the Black Sea as essential to the mercantile interests of Great Britain and Ireland, as well as the continuance of general peace; we, therefore, humbly implore your Honourable House to devise such means as may tend to give protection to our commerce and merchant ships on that sea, to preserve our friendly relations with Turkey, Persia, and Circassia, and to maintain the rights of British commerce, by a strict fulfilment of existing treaties with other nations.

In conclusion, we feel assured that your Honourable House will give the most earnest and deliberate attention to the important subjects to which we have again called the attention of your Honourable House; and that no legislative measures of minor moment will be allowed to interfere with the consideration of views whereon hangs the fate of this great empire.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.

FIRMS AND SIGNATURES TO THE ADDRESS TO THE QUEEN.

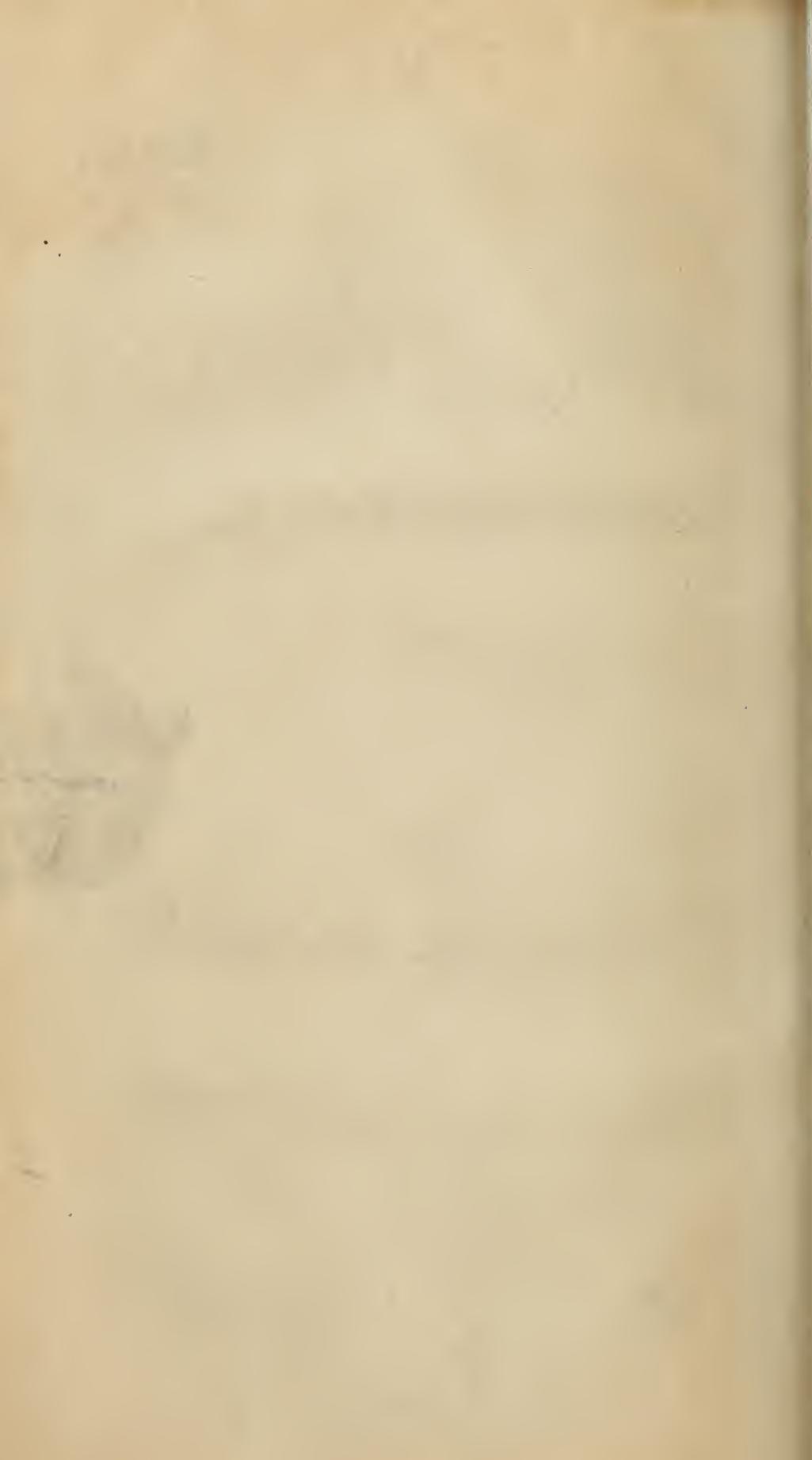
Henry Monteith & Co.
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John Bartholomew & Co.
John Todd & Co.
James Dunlop & Sons
P. pro. The Lancefield Spinning
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 William Graham, jun.
Pollok, Gilmour, & Co.
J. W. Campbell & Co.
Bogle, Douglas, & Co.
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James Ewing & Co.
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M. and John Dorvine
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Perston, Bannatyne, Moir, & Co.
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George Primrose & Co.
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Black & Wingate
David and John Anderson
Fleming, Watson, & Nairn
William Gilmour & Co.
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Francis Reid
C. Hamilton
J. P. Jamieson & Co.
George Black & Co.
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James Bowie & Co.
Campbell, Reeves, & Co.
John Alston & Son
John Hood & Co.
James Emmerson & Co.
Walrond, Ellis, & Co.
Smith & Macallister
Muir, Brown, & Co.
Chisholm, Smith, & Co.

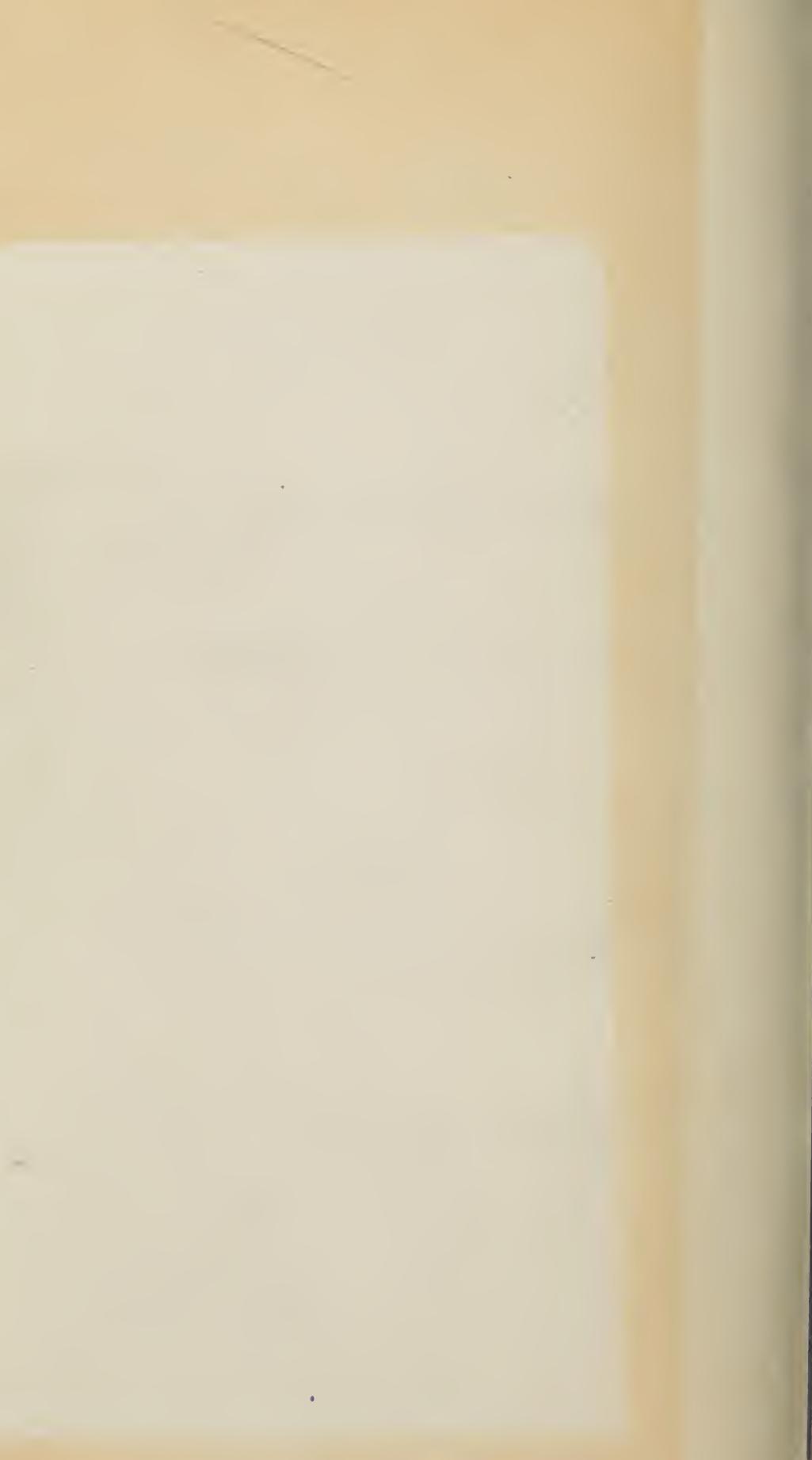
Robert Freeland
 James M'Kenzie
 N. and R. Handyside
 Donald Campbell
 Alexander Gray
 James Broom & Co.
 Richard White
 Robert Blackburn & Co.
 John Arman
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 P. pro. William Mather & Co.,
 William Houldsworth
 Gilkison & Brown
 John Black & Co.
 James and John Dalglish
 J. and S. Black
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